TL 1860

BETACAM/VHS 180 MINUTE TAPE MASTER TIMINGS

(transcripts for each interview are attached)

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00.00 - 00.15	**Bar codes**
	PART ONE
00.15	**Interview N°1: Bishop Belo** - in English
	Role of the Church
	Treating the complete person
1.15	Defending human rights
1.40	Practical work of the Chruch/schools
2.00	Schools/missions/primary schools/senior high schools
2.30	Polyclinics in villages, health etc.
3.00	Orphanages
3.20	Increase of Catholicism post "integration"
4.00	680 000 Catholics out of 800 000 population
4.20	The people see we defend them
4.30	Catholicism helps maintain identity
5.30	Church is not political
5.40	We pray for justice/peace/human rights
6.30	We are an integral part of the people
7.05	Mix of animism/one god/eternal life
7.50	Similarity of Catholic and animist beliefs
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10.00	We are not part of Indonesian or Portuguese Catholic Church
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11.45	Solidarity from other churches
12.05	The division of the diocese
12.35	Diocese division has been politicised
12.54	Belo may be sent to Bacau
13.10	They "put their spoon" in the religious field
13.35	They want to avoid Bishop Belo
13.40	The Vatican understands the situation
13.50	Remixio and university incidents
14.30	Islamization programmes
15.00	Military push for building of mosques
15.30	Panitia organisations
15.50	Teachers are moslems

16.30	They will not employ Timorese teachers
17.07	Pamphlets to promote Islamization
17.50	Scholarships to moslem children
18.20	Timorese feel there is something wrong
18.30	Why the Islamization programmes?
18.50	Theo Sjaffei pushed Protestantism
19.10	The military has antipathy to Catholic Church
19.40	Trying to reduce influence of the Catholic Church
20.00	They have stopped foreign missionaries for last two years
20.30	Difficulties with visa renewals for priests
20.50	1992/93 many Church leaders arrested
21.20	Leaders tortured, forced to say "Church anti-integration"
22.10	"Eat your God" (military harrasment)
22.50	"We cannot accept this religious persecution"
23.15	"If these people do this, we do not need them here"
23.40	"Incident" at Dili a massacre
24.00	Maybe more than 400 dead
24.10	The problem of (in)justice
25.15	One soldier in Ujun Pandung
25.36	Soldier can't sleep/ shot more than 300
26.20	Second massacre
26.30	Massacre happened in the hospital
26.50	In Tipat - bodies
27.08	People in sacks shot
27.30	"Yes, it's sad but it happened"
28.05	Yesterday at university same case again
28.30	The military defend whom?
28.47	After the massacre/at the hospital
29.30	The killing in the mortuary
30.10	The people and self determination
30.30	The Timorese are not happy
30.50	The Apodeti idea of integration was not like this
31.40	This is a military annexation
32.00	The people want self-determination
32.30	The people are fighting for independence
32.50	Majority are not happy
33.00	Let the people express freely what they want to become
33.30	Let the people speak
33.50	Yesterday was the day [celebrating] integration
34.00	This integration is not for the people
34.15	To the Australian government
34.50	Australia should become a friend to Timor
35.10	Very disappointed with Evans/Keating
35.25	I would like to see their reaction
35.45	Material development is not all

50.50 **Interview N° 7: Man with beard**
- in poor English
Since Indonesians came, no freedom
Only the Church and Belo help
Bishop not political, works for people
Need for human rights, world has not helped East Timor

55.00 - 55.30 **Gap**

55.30 **Interview N° 8: Young man at Camara** - in Tetum
Youth has full confidence in Belo
Imprisonment, tortured by Indonesians
Determined to be free and independent
Belo has always protected his flock

57.15 **Interview N° 9: Father Domingos** - in Portuguese
Bishop Belo a shepherd who protects his flock
The people trust only the Church, Belo is the only hope, the friend and protector

1.00.00 **Interview N° 10: Young man with curly hair**
- in Tetum
The Bishop and clergy protect people's rights

1.01.00 **Interview N° 11: Dili massacre survivor** - in Tetum
Witness of massacre, shooting in cemetery
Many injured
Military entered cemetery, beating, stabbing
Cut off his ear(s)
Bodies stretched as far as the eye could see
Dragged over bodies of his friends
Three trucks of bodies ahead of his
Friend killed for asking for water
Dragged into hospital, laid on floor
Poisoned water distributed, many died
Sheet tied around corpses and rolled away
Beatings, more deaths
Sent to POLWIL, interrogations, tortures
Months of imprisonment in different locations
In Dili prison colleagues' faces so swollen (with beating) they were unrecognisable

1.40.00 **Interview N° 12: Man at Ermera** - in English
Recent killings, arrests, tortures (details)
Gang rapeof two women at Atulea
1.47.00 No one is happy because of the general abuse of human rights

36.20	Who enjoys this development
36.25	Treated like dogs in our homeland
36.45	The development should be for human beings
37.10	They abuse and kill, we don't need this
37.30	Who drives on the upgraded roads?
37.40	We are the same - in poverty
37.50	**Balide - Demonstration** Short segment About 150 demonstrators (can take a still and sound - but technical problems with film)
38.45	**Interview N° 2: Priest from Eastern part of East Timor** - in poor English
38.50	Role of Catholic Church
39.00	We are dying as a people
39.40	We are not happy with the situation
40.00	Incident at Remixio
40.50	They are trying to kill us little by little
41.10	The Catholic Church must speak
41.30	We must speak of the abuses
42.00	We are worse off now
42.20	Better poor and free/ we are worse off
42.35	The Bishop must speak out
42.50	The Church defends human rights
43.20	The Bishop works according to the gospels - he is not political
43.30	**Interview N°3: Nuns in Motael** - in Spanish Pressure on Catholics, appeal to Catholics all over the world East Timorese have greatest trust in Bishop
45.55	**Second nun in Motael** - in Portuguese
46.00	**Interview N° 4: Young man in Motael** - in Tetum People are united with Bishop who protects them
47.50	**Interview N° 5: Man at Villaverde** - in Portuguese Church the only defender of East Timor The people seek the Bishop's protection from military but he is not political, he only follows the principles of Catholicism
49.54	**Interview N° 6: Young man at Villaverde** - in Tetum Indonesians rip up Vatican flag "We're ready to die for our religion"

1.47.08	**Interview N° 13: Joao** - in English "This is not only about human rights...we only want to claim our basic rights to freedom"
1.49.20	**Bar codes** **PART TWO**
1.50.08	**Independence banners** For visit of United Nations Rapporteur
1.51.45	**Mural and Motael Church**
1.52.13	**Night mass in Letefoho**
1.53.20	**Morning in Letefoho**
1.54.17	**People meet Hilton Deakin**
1.55.15	**Priests in Letefoho**
1.55.23	**Procession at Letefoho**
1.55.50	**People on the hill**
1.59.30	**Crowd and church**
2.00.40	**Mass**
2.01.10	**Bishop Belo saying Mass**
2.01.55	**Crowd and confirmation ceremony and crucifix**
2.03.30	**Hymn and confirmation**
2.04.20	**Bishops Belo and Deakin and Eucharist**
2.05.03	**Interview N° 14: Witness at university demonstration 13/14 July 1994** - in Bahasa Indonesia 13 July - nuns mistreated, student retaliation 14 July march to parliament offices Attack by military and police, beatings, injuries, arrests March included men, women, children & youths Religious slogans called out, not political

Police dogs used
Details of battalions which took part
Past violations and insulting Catholic religion
Battalions of police, pressure prevented demonstrations whilst UN Human Rights Rapporteur was there
Seek international support and pressure - right to self-determination

2.24.08 **Interview N° 15: Joao - Clandestine leader - current military situation** - in Portuguese
Troop numbers not reduced as Indonesia claims
"Kodims" and battalion details
20 battalions in East Timor
That military "helps" the people is false propaganda - their aim is to monitor the people
Human rights commissioners followed by military
Demonstrations postponed because of pressure
Details of Indonesia's "removal" of troops and redeployment in East Timor

2.29.25 **Interview N° 16: Joao - witness of events at university 13/14 July 1994** - in English
Attack, mistreatment of nuns
Parliamentarian advised students to take matter to the Assembly
Commander of Dili police supported student demonstration
(About 500) youths attacked by police/military
Crucifixes and Vatican flags destroyed
Claims made that students shouted political slogans false, only religious slogans used
Whole event a manipulation by authorities, students tricked by police into leaving university
Situation unacceptable
38 seriously wounded, 16 hospitalised, most released but still in serious condition

2.38.06 **Interview N° 17: Joao - the plan of Islamization and attacks on the Church**
- in English Eg. Bobonaro and Remexio

2.40.43 **Interview N° 18: Joao re Islamization and Church attacks** - in Portuguese
2.43.00 Maliana incident
2.43.20 Ermera incident
2.43.30 Remixo incident
2.43.50 University event
2.44.00 Motael - threat

2.44.40 **Interview N° 19: Participant in Comarca demonstration for the United Nations Rapporteur**- Bahasa Indonesia
Demonstration 10 July in Kuluhun, Dili
Stopped by troops
Couldn't go home as military was there
Some friends now captured and "disappeared"
All Timorese unhappy with Indonesian government
UN envoy valuable, that is why we demonstrated at that time - await their response

2.48.40 **Interview N° 20: Young man at Letefoho**
- in English
Plea to government of Australia
Indonesia has no right to East Timor

2.49.34 **FINISH**

Interview N°1: Bishop Belo - in English

Q: What functions does the Church perform here in East Timor?

Well as you know our first job for the church is to preach the gospel, to bring to the people the knowledge of Christ, to reach salvation, but on the other hand we try to serve the people in an integral way, all the people, not only on a spiritual level, but also on cultural, psychological, moral and economical levels. We try to promote human beings in all their aspects. In this way, we also try to defend them, defend against abuse of human rights, to preach justice, reconciliation and harmony to the people, and to live in peace and justice.

Q: What are some of the practical aspects of the church?

We have in the diocese 30 parishes, and we try to promote the the people. This preoccupation began last century, when we opened schools in the mission areas and mission stations. Now we have more than 100 primary schools, 30 junior high schools and 14 senior high schools. It is true that we can't run them like the government, but the community still trusts the Catholic schools so we serve these people. We also have a small polyclinics run by the parish priests and sisters in the different congregations. to pay attention to those who are sick and injured and have the necessity to be cured. We also maintain five orphanages run by the Silesians in the Eastern part of the diocese, and you know that in Venelale there are about 150 children, most of them orphaned as a consequence of the war, so we try to give attention to these people.

Q: How important is the Catholic church to the Timorese people?

Well, you know in the Portuguese time in 1974, only 150 000 people were Catholics; the majority were animist. But after "integration" (we can say), many Timorese people preferred to become Catholics. So now we have in one population of 800 000 inhabitants, 680 000 Catholics. We don't know what reason there is for this, a study should be done to see the sociological factors.

But for us the one important factor is that the people saw we were near them, we would defend them, and maybe this proximity of the Church to the people attracted them, made them more confident of the church; so many of the Timorese asked to be converted, to be baptised, and to join the Catholic church. They saw that maybe becoming Catholic was some way of maintaining their identity as Timorese people.

In fact, we are not trying to be a substitute or to become a political party, but we give the people the opportunity to be human beings, and so they join the Catholic Church. It doesn't mean that through the church they can fight for their political objectives. In this sense, I don't agree that the people can use the church as a channel for their political aspirations. We only pray for moral justice and peace and human rights, and you can include in "human rights" the right to have self determination. But it is the role of the Catholic lay people to say that. As a Church, we are

apolitical, we are neutral, we serve only human beings, help them to be Christians and to be Timorese and to carry out their roles in this world to reach salvation.

Q: It seems that in the last 18 years there have been many times when the people have felt t the Church was the only place they could turn to. Would that be the same now?

There are ideas about that. We, the Church, say that we are also an integral part of these peo and the Catholic Church here is formed by the Timorese people. There is a kind of a co-incid here about the Catholic Church, and with the Catholic Church and the local community. So i see that through the Church they can channel some political aspirations, I can understand it.

Q: Can you speak about religion in the lives of the people?

You know, even as animists, the Timorese community have their vision, their beliefs, so that e as animists, we call them here "genteels", they believe in one god. They believe also in the ete life of the souls of their relatives. And when they are presented with the opportunity to becom Catholics, I see that there is a similarity between the Catholic faith and the local religious belie Many people feel that it is natural to become Catholics and we see that our people have a sim faith, but are very, very profound in this faith. Not intellectual, not theoretical but a kind of emotional faith, a living faith.

So yesterday when these young people went to the demonstration they told the vice governor are ready to defend our religion, our faith". During the second world war when the bishop, th priests and sisters left to seek refuge in Australia for two years, here the people by themselves organised cathechisms, baptisms and brought it to the forests and mountains, and took guard the objects of the church. This is very significant - it shows the strength of the faith of the peo

As you know, since 1976 we depend directly on the Vatican, to two congregations, the congregation of propagation of faith and the congregation of the state. We have a nuncio the Jakarta - in this matter of the church we liase with his Excellency the Nuncio on daily matters the church. We are not members of the Indonesian Catholic church nor the Portuguese Catho church.
And we know that the Holy Pope, John Paul II, is with the people of East Timor. I met his Holiness twice and his Holiness told me that "every day I pray for the East Timorese people". But his Holiness also told me "I understand the problem of East Timor and for me East Timor represents a very, very difficult issue in the world", because also in Indonesia they have a Cath church. They are more than we - they are five million Catholics; they have schools, hospitals. also difficult for the Holy See to take a position. I know that is the personal position of the H Pope. About the Vatican and about the Nuncio, we know that they understand that, but also are diplomatic, they also defend the interests of the Catholic church in Indonesia. So sometim the people here expect a more stronger position from the Nuncio about the political issues. B unfortunately we only hear about the pastoral and religious aspect. About the relations with t other churches we have already solidarity from the Japanese bishops, Australian bishops,

American bishops, Philippine bishops but we hope that this solidarity will be getting stronger in the future.

Q: Could you give your thought on the incident at Remexio, Maliana, the university; and the planned division of the Catholic community by appointing two bishops.

About the division of the Diocese: since 1984 we have talked about this with the clergy. This Diocese is very big, there are too many people to be served properly by one Bishop.
It would be good pastorally to serve the people if the diocese was divided. However, this problem has been politicised by the central government and the military. I heard of a meeting last week in Jakarta, a ministerial meeting, where they discussed about dividing the diocese into two or three and sending me to Baucau. This was talked about by the ministers. It is so dangerous to see the government ministers and military interfering in religious matters. It is only the right of the Church to decide on these matters, it is not the jurisdiction of the civilian government or the military. All of this to avoid Bishop Belo. We hope the Vatican will understand these problems, the seriousness of the situation.

Regarding Remexio and the recent University events, the problem is that as of 1976 to now there have been real efforts from other parties, mainly the military, to Islamicise this Catholic community - obliging the people to become moslems or protestants. In many districts they told the people "either you are a moslem, or you are Fretilin (i.e anti-integration)", or you are Communist. So please become moslems. This has happened in Same, and so on. Even this year 1994 in Liquica, Aileo and in Los Palos, the military commanders are pushing for the building of mosques. In Aileo the military commanders and police commanders formed an association, "Panitia", to build mosques. They then became the leaders of this association.

Another aspect is that all of the teachers in junior and senior high schools are moslems. We asked for teachers of religion and ethics from Jakarta for the government schools; but they send us only moslem teachers.

Q: Is this in the Church Schools or the government schools?

In the government schools - but we know that in the government schools the percentage of Catholic students are 80 to 90% and more; yet they send moslem teachers.

Q: Would they employ Timorese teachers?

We never had these. We have often asked for locally prepared teachers to be appointed, but that never happens; they never get appointed to teach in the schools. The other aspect is last year & this year there were many, many pamphlets signed by ICMI (Indonesian Moslem Intellectual Association). In these pamphlets there are efforts to establish a strategy on how to improve the moslem religion, the moslem community here in East Timor through small enterprises, small

shops; and they donate the things for these, and donate scholarships to the young moslem people; and last July and November they sent a group of children at junior High School to Sulawesi.

And so the people in East Timor feel that something is wrong here. Essentially the people are religious people, they are Catholics, why then are these Islamisation efforts.

But there is not only islamisation, they are also pushing protestantism. During the time of Commander of KOLAKOPS Theo Sjaffei, I heard there were witnesses who say he was the main one to establish the strategy of the protestants in East Timor. He built chapels, churches and houses for the pastors. Unfortunately, those pushing for protestantism and islamisation are the military, because of their antipathy for the Catholic Church, because of our influence among the East Timor people. They say that we are against Indonesian and because of us the people still resist on this issue of integration with Indonesia. This is not true. We are not here to push for integration or for independence. It is not our job, our role. It is for the people - let them speak. But unfortunately in this religious aspect, there are also these dimensions of reducing the influence of the Catholic Church and promoting the Moslems and Protestants. Then, with regard to the Catholic Church, they don't give the opportunity to invite more missionaries from abroad, from the Philippines, from Europe. Now it has stopped totally. We have no chance for new missionaries for already two years. For those who are working here, every year it is also difficult to renew their visas. For them to get it, we always have to ask the governor, the military, the beaurocracy, to get visas for those missionaries who have been working here for years and years.

Q: So is it fair to say that there are political attempts to undermine the Catholic church in the East Timorese community?

Yes, yes, yes, there are political reasons. In 1992/93 many young people, our leaders of the community, lay people, members of pastoral counsels, catechists - they were arrested in different places, they were beaten, tortured with electric shock then obliged: you must confess that you are anti- integration because the bishop and the priests have told you to be anti-integration. It was 1992/3, and the catechists in Los Palos, the cathechists of Aileu, of Ermera, Bobonaro and so on, and more than thirty or forty - the important figures of the communities. And the young people, when they brought the rosaries, the medals, the pictures of Jesus Christ and Virgin Mary, the military broke them; and then they ordered the young people: eat your god, please call for your god - he will come to save you. Offences like this. Then the people came to tell me: bishop, we can't resist this torture. We can die but we can't accept these religious offences against our faith, our sensibilities, as humans, as religious people.

This is making by the elements of security we call here Nankala, of Colmera, and Balaide and so on, so, if these people come to East Timor to do this, it is better to tell them please return to your land, we have no necessity to have your presence here in East Timor.

I must say that unfortunately now people know of the massacre in Dili as the 'incident of Dili'. I am not in agreement with this term. What is an "incident"? It was a very real, a proper massacre. I don't know exactly how many people died. I have a list of 271, but I was told by Timorese intelligence - people working with Indonesia - that there were more than 400 killed. And now we

Q: And they had been alive?

I don't know. And then you know already the witness who talked about this, in Geneva, boys have told the same story and I believe them. I am convinced that this happened, that the soldier entered this building that we call in Portuguese "mortuario", to bring the big stones and then the injections with water, and giving them pills - this is already told in Mr. Pilger's film.

Q: Please talk about human rights, yourself, the people and your aspirations.

30' Well you'll have to talk to the people and ask them themselves.

My perception is that not many Timorese are happy with the situation, as they are not happy. First of all, there is this group of founding members of the Apodeti party who appealed for integration in the beginning in 1975. Now they tell me that in fact their program of integration was not at all like the integration we ended up getting. They say "our integration program was one about integration with autonomy and recognised internationally by the United Nations". But Indonesia totally ignored them and made East Timor an fully integrated province (non autonomous province). Now these people are raising questions about the problem of integration. They do not want integration if they are to be treated like ordinary Indonesian citizens. This is only a real and simple annexation, a military annexation.

The other part of the people still think, are convinced that like other people in the world they have the right to determine their political destiny, and they wish to talk about that. And then there is the group that say that it is our right to be independent and are fighting for it. Only a few are happy with integration because they are Indonesian employed, they receive money, they have house, they have car, so they are in a good position but these are very few. So majority from different groups, from Apodeti, UDT, Fretelin - the people are not happy. So my opinion is to let the people talk. To express freely what they want to become.

Q: So there really should be an act of self-determination?

I don't know what kind of system to use, but it is necessary to give the opportunity to the people to speak and to say if we're happy with integration or not or would we like to be independent. It should be freely chosen by the East Timorese people. Not by Indonesians or by other people.

You saw yesterday, the day of celebrating integration. There were people asking who prepared for the day? Who put the flags and decorations up in the city. They were Indonesians, preparing for their integration. They are enjoying this integration - not the East Timorese people. Integration is for them, not East Timor people.

have the problem of justice, because the families are still waiting for the bodies of their children, and we don't know where they are buried. And then, those who killed, who actively shot and injured people, they received only 12 or 18 months in prison. So in this aspect, there is a very big injustice.

The recent news I heard is that one soldier there in Ujung Pandung told one person he is now very preoccupied, even by night he can't sleep, because he was ordered with his fellows, as a battalion, to shoot down more than 300 there in Tibat, in one place, in front of a common grave.

Q: Was this after the massacre?

Yes. Of those more than 300, maybe some were already dead, but some were still alive, they were crying Jesus, Maria, and the soldiers were ordered to shoot. 300.

Q: When was that?

Maybe the 12th, the same day. So when Mr. Pilger talks about the second massacre, he is right that it happened in the hospital, we don't know how many. But when I hear this, the thesis is confirmed that not only in the hospital but there in that side of Tibat, and also in Hera, 19 bodies buried there, and also one witness, one soldier of Ambon, came here and told me "we didn't want to shoot to kill, but we were ordered by the commander. We heard among, inside the sacks, those young people still crying for their Dads and Mums, for the Virgin Mary, for Jesus, but we had to shoot them and to kill them and to put them into the grave." Yes, it's sad, but it happened.

So now this is the big problem, and I should ask the International Jurists Association to improve and discuss, and finish the problem of this injustice, of this massacre of November 12 1991.

And yesterday in the university the same case rose again. People without guns, walking to the parliament buildings in a disciplined way, accompanied by the chief of police of Dili district, stopped by this act of violence.

So we ask really what is the intention of this military people in East Timor? They defend whom, and are beside whom?

Q: Can you talk a little about the events at the hospital after the Dili massacre? There is some controversy about this.

On 11 o'clock 13th November morning I saw many, many people at the hospital, many wounded people, not only in two big rooms but also on the verandah. On the 15th I came back again, and there were only 90 in the rooms and already treated well in the beds. But the others that had been laid out on the verandahs, where were they?

Q: Is there anything you would like to say to the Australian people or the Australian government?

(To the Australian government) I respect the policy to have relations close relations even economic and business relations with the Indonesians. Ok, this is Australia's right to do that, but Australia also has to recognise that there is a number of people who fought for the sake of the Australian soldiers here in 1942 to defend them. So I think that the Australians must respond to this solidarity. To become friends with the East Timorese people and speak also about the human rights abuses here.

Q: Do you feel some disappointment with the government?

Yes, very, very disappointed with Mr Evans' position, Mr Paul Keating who as a Catholic should do much more about human rights abuses. If your Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs were beaten up I would like to see their reaction, I'm sure they wouldn't like it.

Q: Speak about development

For me development is not everything. There may be some development in Dili but outside in places like Letefoho, Bobonaro, the roads are worse than in the Portuguese times. And even if there is a little material development, offices, roads, schools, who is this development for? Who enjoys this development? It is not necessary to have huge buildings like New York and then we are treated like dogs in our own homeland. So it is necessary to have not only physical development but also political, social, psychological, cultural and religious development - all aspects. Development should be for the human being, not to sacrifice the human being to make a show of development for the outside world to see they are spending billions of rupiahs. On the other hand they kill, they abuse. We don't care about this kind of development.

They say that they have built hundreds of kilometres of roads but we ask who walks on them, who uses them? The roads are for their cars and their motorcycles. We remain the same - for us nothing changes. We continue in the same condition of poverty.

-end-

Interview N°3: Nuns in Motael - in Spanish
Second nun in Motael - in Portuguese

Members of other religious groups have recently attempted to cause damage to the Catholic religion in East Timor.

In the past there have been cases of pressure on religious in East Timor by people from other religions, for example the muslims.

Therefore today, we Catholics of East Timor appeal to Catholics in other countries of the world, including to the Vatican, to seriously look at the war Indonesian moslems are waging against the East Timorese Catholics.

The leaders of the East Timorese Catholic Church, headed by Bishop Belo are asking for an ever stronger and solid faith, in an attempt to prevent the expansion of other religions which often use force and a variety of pressures and arguments against the Christians. All the Christians of East Timor have the greatest trust in Bishop Belo.

-end-

Interview N° 2: Priest from Eastern part of East Timor - in poor English

The role of the Catholic Church is very important in the sense that we are not working in a political way but trying to do something for these people. Because, as I said, they are dying as a people.

[At Remexio] the letter (from the Bishop) said we are not happy with these Moslems. He was requesting the government to withdraw all military ranks.

At Remexio, during the mass two Moslems received communion and the host and after that they threw it away. After that the people were reacting against it, and the Bishop wants these to see the situation. So he wrote a strong letter against the situation, asking the government to withdraw all the military ranks in East Timor and also the Moslem civilians.

Because they know the majority of people here are Catholics, so they keep pressure against our culture and religion which has grown up since Portuguese times. If they go against us, it shows they are trying to kill us little by little. The Bishop wrote something like that in the letter. So now the Catholic Church probably is doing a big job. It is hard for us sometimes to talk, but that is our job, a prophetic role. It is sometimes hard but it is our job to talk. I get some problems also, but we have to talk because we see the people are suffering, they are calling, they are beaten, and we have to talk about these things.

This developments are mostly for the people from outside. When I go to Dili, the people in the offices are not Timorese but from outside, from Java. Also, there are a group of high-ranked Timorese who live well. But the majority are as before, or even worse than before, because before although they were poor they could move and talk freely, but now we can't do that. Better poor and free than poor and can't move.

So now I say to the people from outside we are dying as a people. So the Bishop has to speak, even though it's difficult. No one else will speak about the situation. If he does not speak who will speak? The government people have no courage to speak about this situation.

Naturally we go along with the people. What the Church and the Bishop are doing is trying to defend human rights and social justice which is very important. They are human beings, and when we see them suffering we can't close our eyes. The Bishop is like that, but he is misunderstood, they say he is political. But in practice, he is working according to the gospel.

-end-

Interview N° 4: Young man in Motael - in Tetum

I agree with what the nuns have said. In East Timor, the people are united with our Bishop because there are other religions which want to denigrate the Catholic religion. Therefore, our Bishop also protects his flock, so that together we can protect our Catholic religion. We, the East Timorese, do not want other religions to come here to destroy us. The Bishop, the priests, the nuns and the people will support and protect our Catholic religion to the end.

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Interview N° 5: Man at Villaverde - in Portuguese

MAN IN PORTUGUESE

Since the invasion of 7 December 1975, the Catholic Church has endured a lot of suffering. In respect of the violations, massacres and injustices which have occurred in East Timor during this period of time, no one has defended the East Timorese people against the Indonesian military reactions [against the people]. So far, only the Catholic Church, and particularly the Bishop, has defended the people of East Timor.

When the youth and the population take part in events in East Timor, the Indonesian military always take reprisals against them, and when this happens, the population automatically seeks the Bishop's protection. It is because of this that the Indonesian military considers the Bishop as a politician and a traitor. But I, as a Catholic, stand by the Bishop. I do not consider him to be a politician or a traitor. He is only following the main principle of the Ten Commandments, which states to love God above all things.

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Interview N° 6: Young man at Villaverde - in Tetum

We don't like the Indonesians ripping up the Vatican flag. Nothing like this happened before. Now they trample on us like rubbish. Sometimes, we are slow to react about political matters; however, regarding religion we respond immediately. We're ready to die for our religion. We do not accept the Indonesians insulting our nuns. It is as if they defecated on us and our mothers. We, the youth, will stick together to protect the Catholic Church.

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Interview N° 7: Man with beard - in poor English

Since the Portuguese age the people of East Timor have obeyed the Bishop and Church. But the Indonesians, since the troops came, don't obey the Church laws, or the Bishop. We don't like this aspect, and we stand by for revolt. Because we don't need or like this.

We need to be free in East Timor. Because since the revolution [invasion] in 1975, we have been suffering. We want freedom in East Timor, but until now we have never been helped abroad. Only the Church and the Bishop have helped us. If we have problems we go directly to the Bishop for help, and because the Bishop helps us the [Indonesians] don't like it. They think the Bishop is political, but he is not political at all. He just tries to help the people of East Timor. And we agree with the Bishop's opinion on East Timor.

Today we see there are many, many religions in East Timor. In Portuguese days there was only one religion and we were very free. But now we are not, and now much damage has been done to the religion and to the Church, to the Bishop and the nuns and the other people in East Timor, and we don't like this. We only want one religion in East Timor. About the human rights in East Timor, the Timorese people need and want it very much but until now we haven't had any results, because since 1975 until now the world has never attended to our problems in East Timor. It has never discussed or rallied to our problems. They have had some discussion but they have never rallied. But about the Bishop, he has helped us in East Timor.

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Interview N° 9: Father Domingos - in Portuguese

Yes, the work of Don Carlos Ximenes Belo is a very heavy one. Since 1983, for more than ten years , he has shown his attitude - that of a shepherd; a shepherd who protects his flock, the Diocese of Dili, which God has entrusted to him.
Since then, he has always tried to defend the truth with courage, and also protect his people's ideals and desires for freedom. Nowadays, the people of East Timor trust only the Church.

The Bishop is the head of the Church of East Timor. He is the hope of the East Timorese people to be liberated from the hands of the new Egyptians, who are the Indonesians. The people really love the Bishop Don Carlos dearly, they consider him as a father, a friend and as a defender of the truth. This is obvious in his pastoral visits; wherever he goes, people come to greet him en masse. He approaches and talks to everybody - old, adults, young, children - as a good shepherd. That's why the people of East Timor consider the Bishop as their father in the true sense of the word.

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Interview N° 8: Young man at Camara - in Tetum

The entire youth has full confidence in the Bishop of East Timor, as he is the leader and defender of the East Timorese people's cause for self-determination and freedom. The Bishop has supported the youth.

We the youth of East Timor have suffered very much in Indonesian hands. Many have died, many have been imprisoned, many continue being victims of violent torture. Nonetheless, the Indonesian military have not been able to destroy our bravery and courage, nor our determination to be free and independent.

The Bishop, in his role of pastor of the Christians, has always protected his flock. Therefore he enjoys the highest esteem and appreciation of all the Catholics of East Timor.

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Interview N° 10: Young man with curly hair - in Tetum

In my opinion, the Bishop and the clergy support and protect the people, who feel like they are under the soles of the Indonesians' feet. They will never abandon the ideals of the Timorese people and work very hard to protect their rights as a people.

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Interview N° 11: Dili massacre survivor - in Tetum

When the shootings started, I thought I was having a bad dream. The reality was too cruel to believe. Many people died immediately. Others were injured and couldn't run away. They had bullets hitting their hands, arms, heads, chests, legs, and feet, blood spilling out. Bodies fell to the ground, into the gutters, over the graves, against the walls, everywhere. Yet they kept shooting. Bullets were flying in every direction and I ran into the cemetery. I saw my brothers and sisters falling to the ground, shot down like animals. Inside the cemetery I joined other friends who couldn't run away. We prayed, hoping God could save us. But the shootings continued. We saw some friends running into the cemetery to escape from the bullets. However, they didn't make it inside. Bullets run faster than people.

The bodies fell to the ground like leaves dropping from the trees. Some managed to get into the cemetery - dragging their legs, holding their injured heads, chests and arms. Human beings have no value when seen from the Indonesian military eyes. All this happened because we want our independence from Indonesia.

When the shootings stopped, the military marched into the cemetery. I was sitting on a grave with my camera and saw them coming towards me and wondered what was going to happen next. They encircled me, pulled my hair, hit me, battered me. I was stabbed on the head and punched. I fell to the ground. They hit my head with a rock, stabbed my forehead, then cut my right ear off and threw it away. They said to me: "This is what you deserve for fighting against Indonesia. We will kill and bury whoever wants self-determination."

After cutting off my ear, they kept stabbing me. Thanks to God Almighty I didn't die. They pushed me outside the cemetery and stabbed my chest. Not happy by having cut my right ear off, they tried the same treatment with the left one, but only a small piece came off.

Outside the cemetery I saw dead bodies stretching to as far as I could see to my right. My brothers and sisters didn't have a dignified death. I had heard before that the Indonesian military killed, burnt and shot people but had never witnessed it. Now, it was happenning to me and to my friends, brothers and sisters all over East Timor. They dragged me out of the cemetery over the dead bodies of my friends - I was forced to commit this sacrilege against my own will. The blood was running along the road like a small river. I felt terribly sad and cried. The Indonesian military are real assassins and criminals. The Indonesian regime is the worst kind on earth.

I was handcuffed and thrown into a Hino truck. Before the truck left, the military again checked the bodies on the ground to make sure they were all dead. Those who had signs of life were stabbed to death. Three Hino trucks loaded with bodies were ahead of ours.

One of my colleagues was thrown into the same truck as me. He asked for water and was denied it. Then I saw an Indonesian military soldier pull a knife from his pocket and stab my beloved friend two times. He died soon after. We didn't know where the trucks were heading to until they stopped at the hospital "Wina Usada". We were loaded off the trucks like sacks of rice, one by one, and dropped onto the floor. After that we were dragged by our hair and pulled into the

hospital room as if we were pigs. It was a huge room without beds or mats. We slept on the cold floor; blood dripping from our bodies formed a big pool. We were around three hundred people. We asked for water and were denied it. Later, some were given what looked like water in bottles; they died soon after drinking it.

Those who were already dead when we got to the hospital were piled up in a white sheet and it was tied up around them. Because it was too heavy to lift, the soldiers just rolled them out of the room. We didn't see where those bodies were taken. The nurses were followed around by Indonesian soldiers. In late afternoon, the military came into the room and ordered us to stand up. We couldn't because of our injuries but they grabbed us from the floor, kicking at the same time, to force us to stand. They ordered us to strip off one by one and washed us with a hose. Then they threw a "sarong" cloth to each of us and led us back to the same room. The blood on the floor had not been cleaned. Again we were told to sleep on the same dirty floor.

One of my colleagues had a severe injury on his head. They stitched his head without anaesthetic. He screamed out loud because of the pain. Every time he cried they punched him, shouting "Don't scream, otherwise we'll kill you." At night they brought us some tinned food from the military ration (one tin each). While we were eating, some of my friends were dying. Since our arrival at the hospital I had lost count of the number of people who had died and had been taken away from that room.

The following day, when we had a medical check, our bandages were pulled off in a brutal way. I stayed at the military hospital for ten days. Before my injuries were healed, I was discharged and sent to the prison at POLWIL (police headquarters). I found many of my friends over there. We slept on the floor again. Every night before dinner, we were called for interrogation. If we didn't say what was expected they burnt us with cigarettes. These interrogation sessions lasted from 6 pm to 6 am. After that we ate a little food and tried to have some rest before we were dragged in again five minutes later. We spent days in this routine. During interrogations they put chair legs on peoples' toes, squashing the toes by sitting on the chair to give intense pain.

The roof over our cells was just barbed wires, so that the rain poured in and drenched our clothes and the floor. We couldn't sleep, it was so cold. One day in March, I forget the date, we were told that soon we could go home. We were so happy thinking of meeting our parents. But instead of sending us home, they divided us into groups and sent us to different districts aroûnd Timor. Myself and five others were sent to Kodim in Los Palos, the regional military. Once there, we were separated again into three groups and sent to different places around Los Palos. We were used for forced labour, heavy digging from six am til dark. During the day we had only thirty minutes to have lunch and some rest. We hardly slept because at night we had "guard roster". We lost count of the days and months that this life went on. During that period we were separated many times, shifted to different places. The only days we were all together was at Kodim in Los Palos prior to the relocations.

On the 17th July we were told to pack to return to Dili on the 18th July. They said "You'll be freed soon." In Dili we slept at Kodim. There we found two colleagues in the cell with their faces

so swollen that we didn't recognise them. Then we were sent home with orders to report to the military intelligence SGI every second day.

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Interview N° 12: Man at Ermera - in English

Recently in Sare, a part of Ermera, a person was killed by the Indonesian military forces whilst going to the field. He was shot dead there by them. They said he was killed by guerillas but when he was examined carefully it was known the bullet was not Fretilin but Indonesian, so we concluded he was killed by the Indonesians. This was three weeks ago, at the end of June.

Indonesian soldiers are brutal and cruel - when they capture a person that person is tortured. They give many kinds of suffering to them. Sometimes they take off their clothes and burn their sexual organs in front of that person's wife or husband.

Recently in Ermera a man called Marcel was captured by an Indonesian police man, taken to the jail, tortured, punched, and burned on the sexual organs.

Then in Atulea, in the morning when two women were going to the market, they were assaulted on the way, by about twenty soldiers who had sexual intecourse with them - about ten to each woman. They were mother and daughter-in-law.

Sometimes they make sexual intercourse to a woman in front of her husband. This also happened in Atulea one month ago in mid-May.

Generally now in East Timor nobody is happy, because of the general abuse of human rights.

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Interview N° 14: Witness at university demonstration 13/14 July 1994 - in Bahasa Indonesia

I am very glad for this opportunity to explain the incident which took place on 13th and 14th July. The story is as follows:

On 13th July, new students were undertaking entrance examinations at UNTIM in Dili. Amongst them were two Catholic nuns. Two muslims went to the nuns and asked them: "Why don't you have a husband?" and "Have you ever been pregnant?" and blew smoke in their faces. Hearing their words, the nuns started crying, and told the Timorese students (who were Catholic) what had happened. The students took immediate action, hitting and punching the muslims who had insulted the nuns. Other Catholics in Dili heard about the event and were concerned at the muslims' ignorant and unethical behaviour.

At 7.30 am on 14th July, the students gathered at the campus office and organised a demonstration at the local parliament offices to state their concerns about the moslems' behaviour. This action was approved by the local chief of police and he personally took part in the demonstration, marching with the crowd towards the parliamentary buildings. Suddenly he disappeared, and we faced the military and police forces who were shooting tear gas into the crowd. We fell down and they came amongst us, stabbing and hitting us. Eight demonstrators behind the ones hurt by the tear gas and beating ran across Battallion 744 base camp. There, they were arrested and beaten heavily, and seriously injured; one of them, Joao Teodosio, is still paralysed. Others went to the campus building for refuge but they were also beaten by police and by military soldiers.

I need to stress here that not only students took part in this demonstration, but many other Catholics as well - men, women, youths and children.

One student, Antonio, was stabbed and had bad injuries to the head, and was taken by International Committee for Red Cross (ICRC) members for treatment. During the march to the parliamentary offices we yelled "Viva Cristo Rei" and "Viva Pancasila" - calling for religious freedom and demanding respect for all religions. We did not call out political slogans, as the chief of police has accused us of; no-one said "Viva Xanana" or "Viva Timor Este" or anything like that.

The leader of the demonstration was Armindo Maia, the vice-rector of the university.

The police forces used dogs in their attack against us. One of my friends, Henriques Koe, was bitten by dogs and seriously wounded. He too was taken by ICRC members to the hospital.

The military personell who took part in the violent and brutal actions of 14th July were about 2,000 plus soldiers from batallion numbers 16, 327 and 744, and police forces as well. The armed forces made blockades in different places around the university building. 38 of us were arrested, 32 were admitted to the Wirahusada military hospital, and five are still missing.

Interview N° 15: Joao - Clandestine leader - current military situation

Indonesia has stopped deploying special commands in Timor but they have not reduced troop numbers in Timor as they pretend to the international community. They took away the special command but increased their troops, ignoring the wishes of the international community. In Timor there is a very special administrative system. In each region there is a command called "Kodim" which is the regional command, made up of one battalion. So in thirteen regencies there are thirteen Kodims so there are thirteen battalions. On top of that there are in Timor battalions 123, 327, 516, 744, 745, 726, 313. According to their propaganda these seven battalions came here to help the people. There are thirteen plus seven, that is a total of twenty battalions in Timor.

Their propaganda claims that the seven battalion have come here as territorial battalions to help the people with development but they are put in all the villages, all the hamlets with the aim of monitoring all the activities of the people especially the youth who don't support integration, are monitored and a second role they have is to protect the security of the transmigrated Indonesian population. All over Timor there are Indonesians now living who are protected by these military so we are really in a very difficult and unsatisfactory situation and this is why we ask for people outside to support us and do not believe the Indonesian diplomats who say they are reducing there military forces.

And when some international investigation team comes we would like that they not be followed by the military. During this last visit by the Human Rights Commission there was tight military control all over Dili. This is why the planned programme of demonstrations of the youth had to be postposed because people could not even leave their homes freely. When other international observers come they pretend to be removing troops - they load them on a ship to leave Dili and then they land them at other locations and deploy them in the mountains. This happened when they took a battalion from Dili and landed it in Lospalos. And another in Batugade. This is why one cannot believe the statements by Indonesian officials such as Ambassador Lopes Da Cruz. It is absurd.

Two weeks ago our people had a clash in Iliomar. And it appears that they were able to take seven guns from the Indonesian military. The international world needs to know that the resistance continues to fight and it continues its activities. In addition there are two battalions of Brimob in Timor to ensure the security of Indonesian VIPs.

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Some past events leading up to this incident are:

28 Oct 91 In Motael, military personell killed a Christian youth called Sebastian Gomes in the church.

May 94 In Maliana, military personell dressed as "Ninja" insulted the Catholic nuns.

1994 In Ermera, military personell went into the church and damaged everything sacred belonging to the church, threw hosts on the ground and stepped on them.

28June 94 In Remexio, two military personell went into the church, received communion, then took the hosts out of their mouths, threw them to the ground and stamped on them.

Based on the ugly actions of Angkatan Bersenjata Republic Indonesia (ABRI) on 11 July, we had met with the vice governor and regional army commanders to express our dissatisfaction.

There are many military personell in East Timor. Every Regency has one battalion of armed forces and one battalion of police. Regarding the recent visit of the Human Rights Rapporteur to East Timor, we had programmed a demonstration. But because of military activity and the pressure of the military was so intense, we didn't have a chance to carry out our plans.

On behalf of Timorese youth, I hope you can pass on this information to the world so that they can join us in solidarity. We seek international support and international pressure to persuade the Indonesian government to respect East Timor's sovereignity and right to self-determination.

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Interview N° 18: Joao re Islamization and Church attacks - in Portuguese

We also wanted to say that all of this is part of a plan by President Suharto, who is losing the support of the military, to strengthen his power. He's is trying to strengthen his power through the Muslims. He has released many Muslim prisoners who support Minister Habibi's Islamisation plan.

In Timor the resistance continues at all levels, military and clandestine, but the missionaries are the real strength. The Bishop has never ever closed his eyes to the continious human rights violations taking place in Timor. So the military percieve the missionaries as strongly resisting them. So they are putting pressure on the population, intimidating it to stay away from the priests and the church. By getting us to stay away from the priests they want to divide us so they can conquer us.

As we have heard these last few months, they are trying to divide the diocese into two parts - in one part, Bishop Dom Carlos Belo would continue and in the other part they would put an Indonesian bishop. Now of course when there are two bishops there would be two different opinions of the situation in Timor and then the outside world would start not believing what Bishop Belo says about the situation here. And the world will analyse the statements of each of them and Indonesia would have the opportunity to support their own bishop's claims. With this statement, I want to call the world to pay attention to our problem.

The first incident of religious provocation in recent times was in Maliana where military wearing masks assaulted the convent of the sisters. The second incident was in Ermera.
They took the chalice with the host They searched for the key of the tabernacle, took the hosts out and threw them on the floor. The third incident was the one at Remexio we have all heard about, where two military, one of engineering and one of battalion 123 went to communion.
They then took the hosts out of their mouths, showed them to everybody, threw them on the floor and stepped on them. The next event was the one at the University. A fifth was at the parish of Motael where we were all told there would be an attack on the church.

These are the difficulties we are facing and we just await what the next step will be.

As I said this is a plan of the Indonesian military to create conflicts in Timor because the Catholic religion here is a major strength, which has not as yet accepted the integration of East Timor. Therefore they are trying to intimidate it. They are trying to intimidate all the faithful to keep us apart from one another and divide us.

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Interview N° 19: Participant in Comarca demonstration for the United Nations
Rapporteur- Bahasa Indonesia

I am a youth whop on Sunday 10 July took part in a demonstration in Kuluhun suburb of Dili, at the time the United Nation's Special Rapporteur's delegation visited the jail at Becora.

At 2 pm together with 30 friends, we waited at Kuluhun. we knew that the delegation was being guarded by Nanggala troops (Special Command forces), yet we still went ahead with the staging of a demonstration. We did so because this was a very valuable opportunity for us to publicise our cause as there would be journalists with them. They could see our demonstration and tell the world what we wish for in East Timor at present.

We took two banners. We were successful in giving one to the delegation, but had to take back the other. We were then stopped by troops of battalion 741 and 743. So we ran away.

I returned home to find the house full of 741 and 743 soldiers. So I went to seek refuge at neighbouring friends, yet they had the same fate as myself. Until now we are still being pursued by intelligence people. Four of my friends were captured and we do not know their whereabouts. I am still in hiding.

Another friend of ours, who had been under SGI (military intelligence) surveillance was also captured and has disappeared. They only took him because they suspected him of inciting us to stage the protest.

We were not incited, we did it out of our own free will, because all the East Timorese, especially the young ones, are unhappy with the bad conduct of the Indonesian government. Therefore we protest, even if we are aware of the dangerous consequences this may have for us.

We all wish for change. We know the international community talks about our problem, but we are not satisfied. The visit of the UN envoy is very valuable to us. Therefore we staged a demonstration- to show them what we wish. We are awaiting what they will say at the United Nations forum.

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Interview N° 20: Young man at Letefoho - in English

The violations of human rights in East Timor remain going on. So on this occasion I would like to state to the government of Australia to support our struggle, based on the statement by the United Nations that Portugal is an administrative power of East Timor. So on this occasion, Indonesia has no right to claim whatever to East Timor island, which is considered the international case.

Since 1975, more than 200 000 people have been massacred, so I think our fate should be solved, because we want to be free.

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